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CRETAN EXPEDITION

XIX

A VISIT TO PHAESTOS

ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἄλλα πέτρῃ
ἐσχατιῇ Γόρτυνος, ἐν ἡρωειδέϊ πόντῳ ·
ἐνθα Νότος μέγα κύμα ποτὶ σκαίδον ῥίον ὠθεῖ
ἐς Φαιστόν · μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κύμ' ἀποέργει.

— *Od.* III, 293–296.

THE interesting monograph of Arthur J. Evans, inserted in his volume on *Cretan Pictographs*,¹ has already shown distinctly the great importance, from the point of view of the primitive Cretan and Aegean culture, of the sepulchral deposit discovered a few years since during agricultural works at Haghios Onuphrios, a quarter of a mile north of the double acropolis of Phaestos, on the road leading to Dibaki; of which the material, preserved in the Museum of Candia, reveals a degree of culture equal to that given by the discoveries at Amorgos and others of the Cyclades, belonging to a period anterior to the Mycenaean, which from the island where it was first studied is called by many the “Amorgine.”²

When I was at Candia, the material from Phaestos was very well arranged and sifted, and I hope the watchful care of the president, I. Hatzidaki, and the secretary, S. Xanthudidi, will

¹ Evans, *The Sepulchral Deposit of H. Onuphrios near Phaestos in its Relation to Cretan and Aegean Culture*, in *Cretan Pictographs*, London, 1895, pp. 103 ff.

² Dummler, *Ath. Mitth.* 1886, pp. 15 ff.

have availed to preserve it from dispersion during the last disasters which have visited the city of Candia.

This discovery was notable for the contribution it made to Evans's remarks upon the series of pictographic or primitive writing, of which he found so many traces in Crete and the Aegean; here were in fact some seals in the form of scarabei, and repeating a spiral motive common to the Egyptian scarabei of the Twelfth dynasty, others of triangular shape, or conical, or cylindrical, others finally in the form of an eagle; here were two *nerita* shells with a common whorl in steatite and terra-cotta, on which were represented circlelets or leaves, figures of men and animals; specially interesting a spiral motive fully developed, and related to the early Egyptian class. Besides these seals, which have analogues found elsewhere in the island, and in Syria and Egypt, the deposit of Phaestos contains a quantity of beads of various materials—steatite, rock-crystal, variegated limestone, and gold; these pendants, in the form of spirals, narcissus flowers, small granulated globes, have their analogues in similar objects found at Mycenae, Hissarlik, Arne, Menidi, and were therefore in use during the whole Mycenaean age. The pottery of the deposit exhibited the typical little clay spheroid vases of a dark blackish brown color, with perforated handles for suspension, and a cover with four additional handles, answering to those of the earliest strata of Hissarlik and of the settlement of Tiryns; small vessels, with spouts, of the same dark paste, and small reddish brown vessels with four handles, two of them for suspension, with double vertical perforations; and another vessel very similar to those found in the early cemetery of Haghia Paraskevi in Cyprus. There were also vases of a more advanced technique, but still hand-made, painted with a dull surface; round-bottomed *oinochoae* with pale yellow ground and dark red colored stripes; a kind of pyxis with white bands on a terra-cotta ground; jars with red and white stripes on a grayish black ground which shows a distinct approach to those of the earliest vases from Thera and Therasia, and, ac-

according to Mr. Evans's opinion, standing in direct relation to a very beautiful type of stone vase which was in vogue in prehistoric Crete. The deposit yielded a small limestone vase, with its lid of the same material and type which forms a characteristic feature in early Cretan tombs, affording in certain cases a definite chronological clue, by a very close resemblance to archaic Egyptian classes from the eras of the Fourth to the Sixth dynasties.

If H. Onuphrios was not such a prolific trove-spot of stone vessels as Arvi, on the southeastern coast of Crete, it brought to light a series of marble "idols" of essentially the same class as those found in Amorgos and other Greek islands, bearing witness to a degree of evolution of form which seems to Mr. Evans to indicate the lapse of a considerable period of time. These begin with summary types, where the human form is scarcely hinted at, as in the most ancient examples of Troy, and go on up to the most developed types, in which the body and limbs are distinctly delineated as well as the salient features of the faces, and the male and female characteristics, especially in the two idols represented by Evans in Figs. 130 and 131, where are clearly indicated, as in the small idol of Siteia, the rounding of the bosom. It is this complete series which offers Evans the opportunity to refute, as Reinach did before him, the traditional idea that these small idols can be degenerated copies of early Chaldean prototypes representing Ishtar or the mother-goddess, and to show how the Aegean idols have a great quantity of analogues or duplicates in the prehistoric, the Neolithic, the Eneolithic strata, and the Bronze Age of Thrace, the Danube valley, Transylvania, Poland, the Baltic shores, and further west in Italy, Spain, Britain, and especially in the tombs of the Reindeer Period.¹

The deposit near Phaestos also contained bronze weapons, two specimens of which are preserved; one of them is a flat

¹ S. Reinach, *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines* (*Anthropologie*, 1894, pp. 15-34, 173-186, 288-305, 1895, 18-39, 293-311); cf. M. Hoernes, *Die Urgeschichte der Kunst*, in *Anthropologie*, 1898.

bronze dagger-blade of a form which also occurs in the earliest graves of Amorgos; the other is a double-pointed spearhead of the same type as that which occurs as a characteristic weapon in the hand of a Lycaonian warrior on the well-known stele of Iconium,¹ and of which so many examples were found in the tombs of Tel Nebenesh belonging to the Carian mercenaries of Psammetichus I.²

All this interesting material, furnished by an accidental excavation, awakened in Professor Halbherr and myself the hope that some trial made along the flanks of the Acropolis of Phaestos and in the neighboring plain might produce some important result; if the deposit at H. Onuphrios, a quarter of a mile from the Acropolis, had given a poor supply of grave chattels, such as would be that of a single individual, or a family of low degree, how much more would be discovered if it should prove to be our good fortune to come upon the tomb of some chiefs of Phaestos. But the times were not promising for a systematic research; nevertheless, neither few nor quite fruitless were the researches it was practicable to carry out, though with only slight interest for the topography of the ancient Cretan city.

The topographical indications given us by the ancients, although not very ample, are all very clear and precise, and are not open to doubt. In fact, in Strabo, we find indicated two precise distances: one of sixty stadia from Phaestos to Gortyna, and the other of twenty stadia from Phaestos to the sea,³ — distances which correspond very well with the hill of Haghia Photiá, rising between H. Joannes and H. Onuphrios, to the south of the river Geropotamos, the ancient Lethaeus, — and forming part of the group of lower hummocks of the Pliocene Period, which rise at the extreme western limit of the plain of Messarà, and which form a well-defined division between this

¹ Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, iv, p. 741, fig. 359.

² Flinders Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. iii, pp. 20, 21. Evans says that these two-forked implements in the graves of these mercenaries may be due to some religious survival.

³ Strabo, X, 734.

plain and that malarious low one of Dibaki,—sinking gradually down toward the broad, solemn bay (see Fig. 1).

The Homeric statements, contained in a passage of the *Odyssey* (iii 293; cf. Eustathius, III, p. 1468), must be understood in a broad sense; the poet, taking in the whole Gortynian territory,

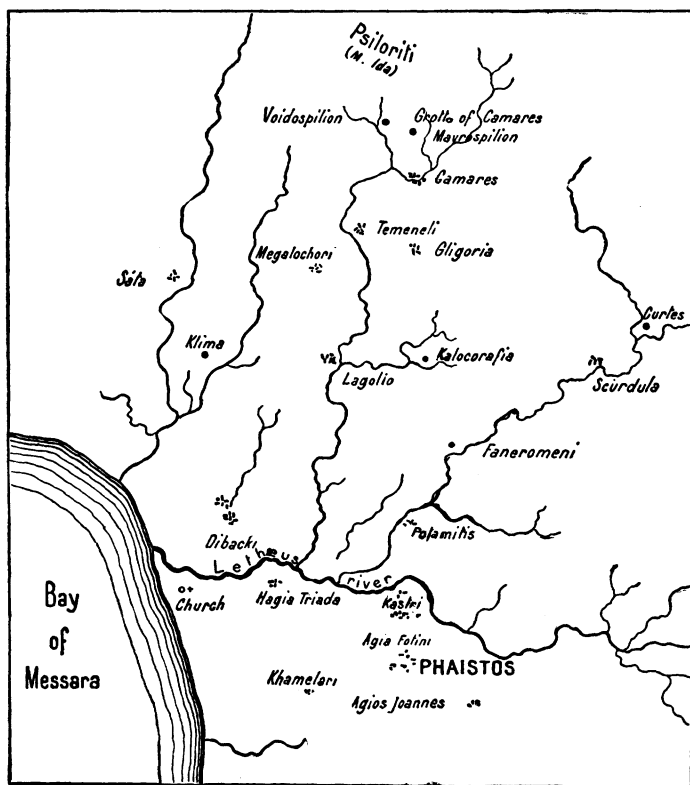


FIGURE 1.—PHAISTOS AND VICINITY.

rightly mentions Phaistos in relation to the sea, and calls up the image of its foaming waters dashing against the steep and polished precipices of a rocky shore. He does not confuse these with the city, but mentions them as characteristic of the Phaestian landscape. The Byzantine commentator, however, took the λισσὴ αἰπέλα (smooth headland or cape) to

be an inhabited place belonging to the district of Phaestos.¹ And so it was, probably, whereas at the time when the Homeric rhapsodist described the place, he must have been struck by the view of the bay and the shore; because toward Kamelari, where the hills of the Phaestian group sink down, there rises abruptly from the seashore a lofty mass of bare rock, against which during the high tides of winter the waves lash furiously, driven by the winds from the open sea without let or hindrance. During the Roman era, however, when the great commercial centre of Gortyna, with its port, Matala, was flourishing, there was near this headland a cluster of dwellings, occupied probably by seamen and coast guards, forming a street called, after the polished rock, Lyssos. This justifies not only the description of Stephanus of Byzantium, but also the passage of Strabo (X, p. 734), *καὶ ὁ Λισσὸς δὲ τῆς Φαιστίας*, so variously read and discussed, but which refers to a city, or better an inhabited place so called, in the territory of Phaestos.²

Phaestos is a strong place, defended on the north by the Geropotamos, and on the east by a little stream, *ῥυάκι*, which descends from the Kato Riza, passing near Gussés and joins the Lethaeus with a watercourse nearly dry at all seasons, but with banks high and steep enough to constitute an obstacle.

In reference to Phaestos, I observed, as in the case of so many other Cretan cities, that the district occupied consists of an Acropolis, around which grew the primitive settlement, and a tract of plain at its feet, where were the dwellings of the citizens, and at a later date the quarter of their Roman masters.

The Acropolis, as given in the plan (Fig. 2), is the extreme eastern limit of the above-mentioned group of hills dividing the two plains of Dibaki and Messarà; it is a long and narrow crest united by a neck to the rest of the group, and erecting

¹ Stephan. Byz., *Φαιστός· ἔστι τῆς Φαιστιάδος καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Λισσὸς· Ὁμηρος ἔστι δὲ τῆς Λισσῆς αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἄλλα πέτρῃ.*

² Hoeck, *Kreta*, I, p. 410; Salmasius, *ad Solinum*, c. 11, 17, p. 118, edit. Water, 1679.

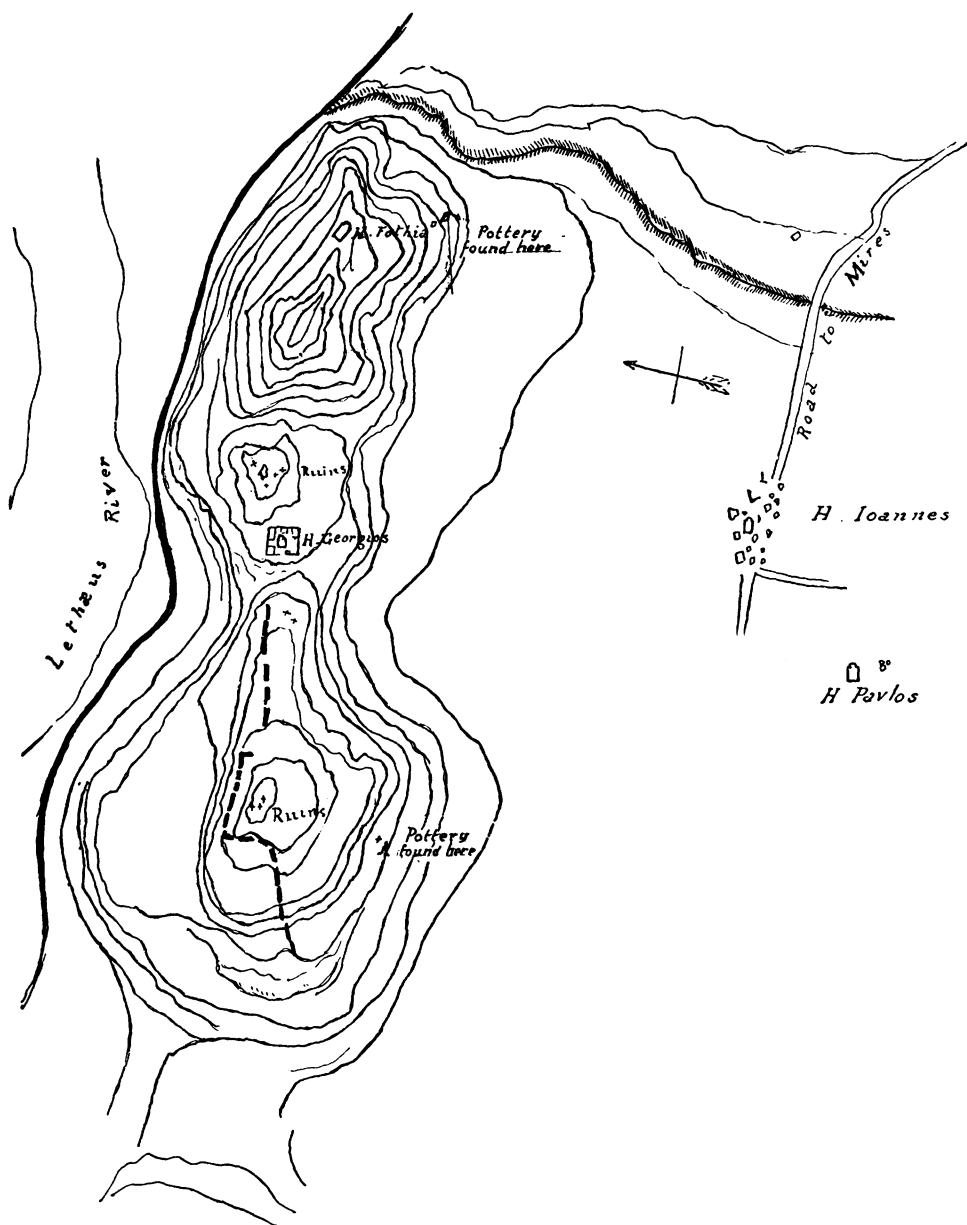


FIGURE 2.—THE ACROPOLIS OF PHAESTOS (BIRD'S-EYE PLAN).

itself with a double head about 100 m. above the plain. This twofold Acropolis is washed on the northern side by the river Lethaeus and east by the channel of the dried-up stream already mentioned; toward the south it descends into the fields and olive-yards surrounding H. Joannis. The eastern cliff of the Acropolis, narrower and still steeper, bears on its slope the chapel of H. Photiá, which has given its name to the whole hill; somewhat broader is the western summit, about 70 m. above the plain, with slopes less steep, and a tract of plateau on the north descent, preserving traces of ancient works of defence; in the depression between the two summits is the ruined convent of H. Georgios, where yet remain some traces of the wall of circumvallation, as well as the little church and a few half-ruined cells.

All over the Acropolis are scattered abundant fragments of pottery of every epoch, but the remains of buildings above ground are very slight; a fact which, in my opinion, is due to the destruction of Phaestos by the Gortynians. It is especially along the back of the western head of the Acropolis that we perceive a line of wall, built of large calcareous blocks regularly squared and arranged, and still preserving their original place; these we can follow in a certain continuity along the eastern crest, until we reach the summit, where there are traces of a rectangular enclosure, of which I noticed the north and west sides, as well as the two northeast and northwest angles. But without excavations the particulars of this enclosure cannot be easily ascertained, nor can I say anything else about it, except that it rises on the brow of the hill, having in front the steep incline which renders an examination of the wall more difficult at this point; and that it was constructed, or at least faced, on the outer side with blocks of calcareous stone of the medium size, $0.80 \times 0.60 \times 0.40$ m., regularly placed, as in the walls of Aptera¹ and other fortified Cretan cities in the classic period toward the fourth and third centuries, when the restless and litigious Cretan communes

¹ Mariani, *Antichità Cretesi*, in *Mon. Antichi*, 1896 (VI), p. 209, pl. viii.

were at their most highly strung tension. From the southwest angle of the rectangular enclosure are to be seen traces of the wall running westward along the edge of the hill; as well in this tract, as along the eastern crest, there could be no question of enclosure from the deficiency of space, which reduced to a few metres. Probably these two tracts of wall served to couple together the defences of the two acropoleis, as well as to connect them with those which must have existed round the lower part of the town. Such a system of connecting isolated points of defence by means of lines of walls sufficiently long, and thus keeping back the enemy, we find everywhere, and at various epochs. I will quote only the example of the Acropolis of the Lake Copais in the important study of F. Noack, *Arne*,¹ where we have two enclosures of walls, of very ancient date, in which three are joined one to the other by means of a tract of wall 250 m. long, which seems to have had no other purpose than that of giving the defenders of the three forts a line of communication.

Nothing, however, remains visible of the defences along the eastern Acropolis, and much less those of the low city, of which we can merely certify the existence by taking note of the great quantity of fragmentary material which enters into the dividing walls of the several fields; and the quantities of broken pottery spread over the plain at the base of the hill, and all round the village of H. Joannis, in the houses of which also abound the stones and other architectural fragments of ancient buildings. In the little village church I found a Corinthian capital of *poros*-stone, various pieces of an elegant Doric frieze, and other fragments, probably from the Acropolis. Near the church of H. Paulos, 300 feet west of the village, I saw a semicircular basin, still entirely lined with painted pottery, which was known by the peasants as the *Ἑλληνικὸ λουτράκι*. It was probably a bath or a reservoir for water in some Roman villa. From my examination of the plain, it seemed reasonable to suppose that in process of time the city must

¹ F. Noack, *Arne* (*Athen. Mitth.* 1894, p. 443, pl. xiii).

have occupied a radius of at least 700 m. toward this southern side of the Acropolis.

But, returning for a moment to the hill, I must mention that the narrow eastern summit has no traces of buildings, but is entirely covered with scraps of pottery, amongst which abound those of the black-figured vases.

Some traces, scarcely recognizable however, of masonry are to be found in the depression between the two acropoleis, at the back of the church, in a mound due to the ruins of some building; and here, again, the ground is strewn with broken terra-cotta, some of the fragments plainly belonging to the decoration of an archaic temple. It is to this spot I would direct the attention of the future excavators of Phaestos, since there very probably may have been a temple in that situation; sheltered from the winds between the two acropoleis, and yet commanding the valley of the Lethaeus and the plain of the city, and enlivened by a fine view of the mighty mass of Mount Ida. And this temple would have been one of those dedicated to the divinity recorded by the ancients as venerated at Phaestos: either Aphrodite Scotia or Latona Phytia, whose festival was known by the title of Ecdysia.¹

In view of the ancient origin of Phaestos; in view also of the fact that in these recent years of excavations, so frequently repeated, the cults of the classic age are found to have their seats in the same localities where flourished the cults and sanctuaries of the Mycenaean epoch—that, in short, the architectural and spiritual substratum of every sanctuary of the classic era is a stratum and a survival from Mycenaean days—I had a lively hope of finding upon the twofold Phaestian Acropolis the traces of one of the two temples recorded by the authors, and together with them, those of a sanctuary that reached to the epoch of the necropolis of H. Onuphrios.

And, searching along the walls and the slopes of the Acropolis, I chanced to find, below the western head in the flank

¹ *Etymolog. Magn.* s. *Κυθηραία*. Antonin. Lib. *Metam.* c. 17, p. 118; cf. Hoeck, *Kreta*, I, p. 9; III, p. 144.

turned towards Kamilari, a great mass of ceramic fragments, occupying a space of several square metres, in a cornfield flanking the modern road. (Fig. 2, at A.)

Having obtained permission from the proprietor to make a trial excavation, I sounded the whole of that mass of fragments, more than 2 m. in depth; and although I did not find either the trace of a building nor any regular stratification, because these fragments were in fact a discharge of material from the steep heights above, I was able to collect a considerable mass of fragments of Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean pottery. From these I expected to select the most remarkable and to take them to Candia, intending to make a definitive study of them at the end of the campaign. But though I was able during the intervals of my excursions through the interior of the island, to examine my booty, classify, and arrange it for catalogues and types; before I could get the collection in order for the museum and reproduce suitably the most important examples, I was struck down, on returning from an excursion on Mount Ida, with a serious illness. This illness gave me occasion to experience the great goodness and devotion of my friend Professor Halbherr and of my Cretan friends,—first of all Dr. Hatzidaki,—but it caused this and other work undertaken by me to remain incomplete, perhaps without prospect of being ever continued.

At the same time, if I cannot give my reader graphic proofs of my assertions, I can at least indicate briefly here the principal types of pottery discovered by me near the cart-road at Phaestos,—types which correspond precisely to those that Evans, Myres, and Mariani, and I myself, studied in the Museum of Candia, which were derived, in great part, from the grotto of Camares, on the south flank of Mount Ida.¹

Setting aside the ceramics of the classic age, from the eighth century B.C. to the whole Roman period, which I found very

¹ A. J. Evans, *Primitive Pictographs*, pp. 79, 81. Myres, *Prehistoric Pottery from Camares* (*Proceed. of the Soc. of Antiq.*, March, 1895); Mariani, *Antich. Cretesi*, pp. 185 ff.

frequent in the great mass, and which served to demonstrate the survival of Phaestos as a centre, even after its destruction by the Gortynians, it was necessary before all to distinguish in the prehistoric pottery two kinds different in make and modelling, or in certain varieties in decoration. In make must be distinguished one ruder kind, made of coarse clay kneaded with grains of stone and extraneous material, and showing a tendency to redden when overfired; and another kind in fine clay, reddish yellow or brown, although not completely mixed, treated in great part by the wheel, although in this class also are not wanting examples worked, like the coarser kind, by hand and with the spatula. Both the rough as the finer kinds have the surface covered with a slip of the same clay more finely levigated, over which is the surface decoration.

Naturally, the vessels of the rough kind were those of larger dimensions, large flat plates of little concavity, fragments of large full-bodied jars with wide mouths, and a kind of basins, with flat bottom and slanting sides and edge rounding off. All these were the types for domestic purposes, and for the most part showed simply a surface made with purified clay, smoothed with the spatula and colored by fire: however, even in this ruder series examples were not wanting with a primitive ornament, either obtained by simple scratched impressions of the fishbone pattern or parallel lines; or else by opaque coloring in zones, of brown or dirty red, along the edges, or crossing each other round the body or the neck of the vase.

Along with this series, which has its analogues in the primitive strata of Greece, I draw attention especially to the finer sort, with the characteristics which the before-mentioned authorities have found in the curious pottery from Camares.

From what could be conjectured from the fragments, the usual forms of this finer class were these two, already noticed by Mariani: a spherical vase slightly crushed, with a large aperture, having neither rim nor hem, which prolonged itself into

a spout or channel of semicircular section, like that of several Theraean vases preserved in the French School at Athens, and in the Abbot collection of New York.¹ The vase has the bottom flat, with a small round edge, and at each side of the mouth a thin erect handle. I noted frequent examples where the spout was not open all the way; but by means of a small opening in the neck the liquor could be poured from the vase into the spout. The other type was a jug of medium size, spherical above and narrowing below into a cone, with a narrow neck like a decanter, and a handle from the neck to the body of the vase.

To these two dominant forms I might add some varieties based on the greater or less dimensions of the body or length of neck, or situation of the handles; they are marked also by a special quality of clay and difference of ornament; since for the most part the spherical vases are of very carefully prepared clay, and are well baked, like the Mycenaean vases of the best kind, covered with a black, almost shining, enamel, while the decanters, also of fine clay, have mostly a yellowish enamel. The decoration of these vases is of two kinds, plastic and pictorial, and both are to be found in the same vase.

The plastic decoration consists in tiny protuberances like beads, regularly sprinkled over the whole surface; or else, as Mariani remarks, in a species of marbling in convex faces, and in salient protuberances, which must have been modelled in the fresh clay, of little density, which formed the slip of the base, and which, like the *barbottine* in modern ceramics, had to be obtained by means of tearing off by the hand from the surface of the vase. The plastic decoration, in both these two forms, is so treated as to let it be seen that it preceded the pictorial in the decoration of the vase, since these were marbled zones surrounded by bands of color, with white spots corresponding to the concavity, or colored beads, either white or red. In the spherical vases the granular ornament was com-

¹ Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, VI, p. 436, fig. 869. Cf. the stone vases of Amorgos; Wolters, *Marmor Kopf aus Amorgos (Athen. Mitth.* XVI, p. 53).

mon, whilst the *barbottine* was most frequent in the various jugs and decanters.

In the best examples the whole surface of the vase was covered by a polish more or less shining, which recalls the *Firnis-Farbe* of Mycenaean pottery, obtained in a first baking, which is most frequently black, tending sometimes to green, brown, or reddish.

Upon this first foundation the ornament is executed, either in fresco or in a second baking. The strongly contrasting pigments of this decoration are milky white, iron-red tending sometimes to purple, and orange. These colors have not always remained, but, having been painted on the enamelled ground, have disappeared, only leaving a few faint traces. In biological phrase, "the ontogeny recapitulates the phylogeny"; the other colors came into use later than the white and as accessories to it, a fact which I also remarked. But setting this point aside, which might cause endless discussions, I merely state that the decorative motives recognized by me in the ceramic objects of Phaestos resemble those from Camares, and are derived partly from floral, partly from textile, motives. We have stripes, simple and parallel, zigzag and crossing each other, twisted and spiral, crosslets and circlets; frequent are the dots or spots, white on a black ground, or red on cream, spread in the fields, or in concavities of the marbling, or on the tops of the beads. Besides these motives, produced by the simple application of the line and the point, and which therefore are quite distinguishable from the decoration of the Dipylon style, there are frequent motives from the vegetable kingdom, —such as lanceolated leaves or plain leaves, single or in series; rosacea or liliacea geometricized, but not in such a manner as to separate the type from the model. I recognized various examples resembling different kinds of lilies, with the petals curved towards the outside, united by a corolla marked with bright red spots, and sprigs of myrtle and garlands of similar leaves, sometimes interrupted by larger leaves, thick, isolated in the field; these are decorative motives which seem inspired

by a nasturtium or by hyacinths, or by some flowers of large plants which the potter had before his eyes. Beside the figures from the vegetable world in the pottery of Camares, Mariani and Myres found fishes and part of a little human figure with a round curly head, rising on a neck which was long out of all proportion. As to the features of the face, one eye only was represented; the hand with all five fingers is pointed toward an isolated object in the middle of the field, which Myres interprets as a shield hung up by its sling, but which to me appears rather a bowl with a handle, like those *oinochoae* which are to be seen in the engraved stones illustrated by Evans.¹

Besides these motives, there were found in the decoration of the Phaestian pottery numerous geometrical forms, such as triangles with convex sides, triple curved lines, circlets with central points and rays, etc. And these motives, whether textile or of the organic world or geometric, are distributed with a special system in the various parts of the vase. The surface of this is in great part divided by horizontal or vertical lines into various fields filled with various decorative elements; in the smaller fields the decorative motives prevail, whereas in the larger fields the decorative elements are displayed, as Mariani remarks, not with the regularity and *horror vacui* of the Geometric style, but after the manner of the Mycenaean style. And it is singular how the ornament accompanies and accentuates all the different parts of the vase, indicating with zones and bands the neck and the body, the edge and the lip; sometimes also the various figures of little garlands and sprigs of liliacea surround and often climb over the plastic reliefs, giving a singularly graceful character to the vase.

I shall not linger here to repeat the valuable remarks made by Mariani and Myres as to the analogy between these examples of the Camares type of ceramics and those especially found in the villages dug out from under the volcanic deposits of the island of Thera,²—analogies which were also observed by me,

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 70, figs. 58, 60.

² I adopt the opinion of Mariani that the ceramic art of Thera exhibits the

also in the examples preserved in the Museum of Athens and in those of the Syllagos. Neither shall I insist upon the still more important analogies which the above-named scholars have traced with the pottery found in Egypt, in the strata attributed to Aegean settlements at Kahun, Khetaneh, and Tel-el-Yaudieh.¹ I note here only the fact that the pottery of this type does not appear confined only to the grotto of Camares, but already appears, besides the isolated examples of Dibaki, also in an important centre such as was the city of Phaestos. We can no longer positively assert that the vases found in the grotto of Camares—to the south of Ida, in the direction dominating the Messaritic plain, at the head of the great valley of Lagolio and Temeneli—were made there,—in the Mycenaean centre of Camares, as Evans would have it; for the great and varied quantity of material given by the ἐκβολάδες of the Acropolis of Phaestos is an indication that this ceramic type and style was in use if not indigenous there. The discovery of so many examples on the Acropolis of Phaestos constitutes an archaeological datum of great value for the primitive history of this Cretan centre.

At the age to which we must refer the passages of the epic in which Phaestos is recorded (*Od.* iii, 293), we see her in the decline of her importance, when she formed an extreme western part of the Gortynian dominion (ἐσχατιῇ Γόρτυνος). Here, on the contrary, she is indicated as centre of a vast enough district, embracing not only the low plain of Dibaki and the whole peninsula ending only at Cape Lithinos, but the whole sub-Idaeian region—the greater part, that is, of the actual Pyrgiotissa, which lies between the Kedrios and the southwestern slopes that descend from the tableland of Ida.

decorative types of Camares, though the former is more coarse and primitive, with less perfect forms, and is more carelessly made. It is at Camares and Phaestos that we can best observe the natural development of this art, and behold it attaining that perfection of technique and of decorative taste which is characteristic of the Mycenaean types.

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* XI, pl. xiv, and *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, I, 1, 10, and what Mr. Myres says in *op. cit.* p. 6.

This region had, besides the city of the plain, a centre of the worship of the Idaean Jove in the grotto of Cameres, in the bosom of the same mountain that in its northeast flank presents us another votive cavern, the celebrated shrine of the Idaean Zeus, explored by Halbherr, the religious centre of the whole district commanded by Cnossus. Thus is explained the verse of Ovid, *Metam.* ix, 668, —

Proxima Gnossiaco nam quondam Phaestia regna,

which show that Phaestos ought not to be treated with the contempt bestowed upon her by Hoeck.¹ They reflect instead some tradition to us unknown, which vaguely recorded the epoch when the great Cretan mountain, with two votive sanctuaries, formed the confine between the communes of Cnossus and Phaestos.

To the realm of Cnossus is attached a series of legends that have entered into the domain of art; more obscure is the fate of the *Phaestia regna* and the far-off progenitors of the poet Epimenides.² Hence of some importance seemed to me these notes about the primitive remains of the Acropolis, that tell us plainly that Phaestos was at the same time mistress of a central part of the island and a maritime city. Not in vain does Homer, in speaking of her, evoke the image of the enormous waves which dash their clouds of foam against the shining cliffs of the Phaestian shore during the short winter of that fortunate climate, while for the greater part of the year the sea gently laps the island with caressing ebb and flow, inviting the dwellers on the coasts to easy navigation. Whoever thinks of the calmness of the sea during so many months of the year, and of the regularity of the north winds, will understand how early the attraction for the sea became associated with the island's history, and how those marine traditions came in to justify the Greek proverb, — ancient, as are all other proverbs, — which said, Κρής θάλαττα.

¹ Hoeck, *Kreta*, I, p. 410.

² Hoeck, *Kreta*, III, pp. 246 ff.; Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 12.

When we think of the presence of scarabei and Egyptian motives of ceramic ornament in the necropolis of H. Onuphrios and other primitive settlements of the island, and still more when we think of the striking analogies between the pottery of the Phaestian type with that of the Kahun sherds now in the British Museum, of Tel-el-Yaudieh, of Khetaneh, and of Evans's considerations upon the origin of alphabets, we are led to establish something more than momentary and casual in the relations between the island of Minos and the land of the Pharaohs. And reflecting upon the archaeological data, which are actual proofs of that mighty Viking inroad, continuing for centuries on all the seacoasts of the Egypt of Tuthmosis III¹ and his successors, we must not forget that amongst the constituent elements thereof are mentioned the terrible *Pulasati*,² Philistines, who consolidated their dominions on the southern coast, and were, as Evans quotes, "a thorn in Egypt's side." Let us remember that the Philistines of Gaza are indicated in the Bible by the special name of Cherethites,³ in the Septuagint in Ezekiel by Κρητες,⁴ and that Gaza itself, founded, according to legend, by Minos, and therefore called Minoa,⁵ was the seat of the worship of Marnas, who is identified with Zeus Kretagenes.

Now this name of Κρητες, as that of Ἕλληνες, which in Septuagint version of Isaiah is translated "Philistines,"⁶ renders more probable the surmise of Chabas, Maspero, Evans, and others, that in the *Pulasati*, or Philistines, are to be seen the Pelasgians, the δῖοι Πελασγοί, whom we see from remote antiquity established in the island along with the Ἑτεόκρητες, Achaeans, and Dorians.⁷

And if we reflect that Mount Ida was precisely the centre of the Pelasgic domination, and partly in possession of the Phaes-

¹ Evans, *op. cit.* pp. 99, 199.

² W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmäler*, p. 389 ; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples d'orient*, p. 312.

³ 1 Sam. xxx, 14. ⁵ Steph. Byz., s. *Minoa Gaza* ; Hoeck, *Kreta*, II, p. 369.

⁴ c. xxv, 16.

⁶ *Is.* ix, 12.

⁷ Homer, *Od.* xix, 174 ; Diod. Sic. V, 80 ; Dionys. Halic. I, 18.

tians, who had on the heights there a sanctuary dedicated to the Pelasgic divinity, Jove, or Zeus, we shall be led to admit that among the Vikings of the sea, among the corsairs who came from the isles rising μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, there were also the Phaestians, who, before being taken under the rule of Cnossus, and later under the "well-fortified" Gortyna, had a very active part in all these warlike and commercial relations with Egypt, which with her fabulous wealth fascinated the mind of a grasping and imaginative people.

These are at present hypotheses not without logical foundation. It is to be hoped that the archaeological campaign, which during the present spring is being conducted in Crete, may adduce numerous facts to confirm them, revealing new and important elements of the culture of this island, which was one of the most important links between the East and the West.

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